



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes

PHILLIPS BARRY

BOSTON

ANTIOCHUS IV, surnamed Epiphanes,¹ the historical prototype of the Antichrist myth, though not undeserving of the punning nickname Epimanes,² was yet a sovereign of no mean ability.³ Moreover, he was a man with an idea. His ambition was the unification of an Asiatic empire⁴ on a basis of Greek manners and ideals. Unsuccessful, his name has come down to us only as one of the world's great persecutors for religion's sake. Yet he was no Oriental zealot; far from it, he was irreligious,⁵ or rather unreligious himself.⁶ His devotion to the worship of Zeus⁷ was but part of his

¹ That is, *ἐπιφανής*, 'God manifest,' the title appearing on his coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

² Polybius, xxvi. 1 (Teubner edition, 1905): 'Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπιφανής μὲν κληθεῖς, Ἐπιμανής (i.e. 'insane,' or, as he would be called to-day, 'a paranoiac') δ' ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὀνομασθεῖς.

³ Polybius, xxviii. 18: 'Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος, καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος ἄξιος.

⁴ 1 Macc. 1 41: "And king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws."

⁵ Dan. 11 37: "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god, for he shall magnify himself above all."

⁶ Polybius, xxvi. 1: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας. To this extent he did indeed show honor to the gods, a mere act of diplomacy, in no wise inconsistent with his sacrilegious behavior at other times, *ἱεροσυλῇ* καὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν, *ibid.* xxx. 26.

⁷ Livy, xli. 20. 9: *Antiocheae Iovis Capitolini magnificentum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis lamina inauratum, . . . non perficit; cf. Granius Licinianus, xxviii.: Duos colossos duodenum cubitorum . . . unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi decoraverat.* Some support indeed he lent to the local cults of Apollo (cf. note 29) and of Bacchus (cf. 2 Macc. 6 7), yet it was his evident intention to establish on a firm basis the cult of Zeus as the patron of his empire; cf. Dan. 11 33-39: "But in

idea that there be, instead of divers local and tribal faiths, a formal state religion, to become a powerful unifying factor, as a means of giving securer basis of solidarity to his empire.⁸ A shrewd diplomat,⁹ and possessed of a keen understanding of human nature, he neglected, however, to take into account the irreconcilable psychological incompatibility between Hebrew and Hellene, owing to his inability to recognize the fact that in peoples as in individuals, are differences of temperament as far removed from each other as is East from West.

With rare insight, many of the Jews, chief among whom as an opponent of Antiochus was the unknown author of the beautiful apocalypse of Daniel,¹⁰ already foresaw that his idea was doomed to failure, for other reasons indeed than because it assumed the fusion of temperamental and psychological opposites,¹¹ namely, because it involved a conflict of ideals. The Dionysiac ideal of the life active, the ideal of "rights," was on the wane; a powerful and growing under-

his estate shall he honor the God of forces, and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things"; also 2 Macc. 6 2. 7.

⁸ It is further to be noted that his persecution of the Jews involved not only the suppression of the rites and ceremonies of the Hebrew religion (cf. 1 Macc. 1 44-47), but also the abandonment of time-honored social and semi-religious manners and customs (cf. 1 Macc. 1 48-50), anti-Semitism of a different sort, and sprung from a different motive than that which has from time to time prevailed to the disgrace of a more enlightened age.

⁹ Dan. 8 23-25: "And . . . a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences . . . through his policy . . . shall cause craft to prosper in his hand." Cf. Polybius, xxx. 27: *ἦκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον πρεσβευταὶ κατὰ σκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν, οἷς οὕτως ἐπιδέξιως ἀπήντησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὥστε μὴ οἶον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ὑποπτεῦσαι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικὸν ἢ παρατριβῆς ἔμφασιν ἔχον . . . καίπερ οὐκ ὦν τῇ προαίρεσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.*

¹⁰ Dan. 11 21: "And . . . shall stand up a vile (LXX, *εὐκαταφρόνητος*, Vulg., *despectus*, in intentional contrast to *ἐπιφανής*) person."

¹¹ Dan. 2 43: "They shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay," that is, the idea of Antiochus will not prevail in an empire made up of peoples as unlike as iron and clay, but will meet with obstacles even before the intervention of God; *ibid.* vs. 34: "A stone . . . cut out without hands . . . smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them in pieces"; cf. 7 25, 8 25, in which it is said of Antiochus: "he shall be broken without hand," 11 45.

current of the ideal of "right" was asserting itself. To this ideal the Jews were irrevocably committed, and in the days of the Antiochian persecution were unfailingly loyal.¹² Theirs was the vision of God's kingdom on earth.¹³ Loyalty to their ideal, and faith in the ultimate triumph of right,¹⁴ is the chief lesson taught by the apocalyptist, who beside giving us an attempt at a psychological theory of history, has transmitted to posterity a unique example of a Hebrew political pamphlet, the type of revolutionary propaganda of his day. The doctrine of passive resistance to evil, destined in after time to become so large a part of Christian philosophy, is most strongly and consistently urged.¹⁵ Submission to the will of God is reinforced by the abiding trust that the evil is to continue for but a short time.¹⁶ Nor is there wanting also a spirit of zealous anti-Hellenism. Fearful for his cause, the author realized the need for his purpose of a powerfully awakened public sentiment to reinforce the psychological incompatibility. From his point of view it appeared

¹² Dan. 12 10: "Many shall be purified, and made white and tried, . . . but the wise shall understand." Cf. 3, 6, also the story of Mattathias and his sons (1 Macc. 2), of Eleazer (2 Macc. 6 18-31), and of the martyrdom of the seven brethren (*ibid.* 7).

¹³ Dan. 7 21 f.: "I beheld and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." Cf. also 2 35, "The stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth." That is, "The universal and eternal kingdom of the holy people of God, a kingdom which (ch. 7) contrasts with all previous kingdoms as man contrasts with beasts of prey" (Driver, *Daniel*, p. lxxxvi).

¹⁴ Dan. 12 1: ". . . thy people shall be delivered . . . (vs. 3) and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament."

¹⁵ Cf. 3, 6, and 12 12, "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." The author is unequivocally committed to this doctrine, believing that the persecution of Antiochus is permitted of God for the punishment of Israel's iniquity (cf. 9 12); deliverance must and will come from God, nor can man hasten the day of its coming.

¹⁶ 12 7: "And I heard the man clothed in linen . . . when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half." Cf. 7 25 8 14 9 27 12 11, the period being a mystic cycle, having for its *terminus a quo* the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus, 25 Chislew (Dec.), 168 B.C.

a national calamity, imperilling the solidarity of his race and loyalty to their ideal, that there were among his people individuals of selfish and mercenary ambitions, not averse to take advantage of the opportunities for personal advancement in the kingdom consequent upon the renunciation of the outward forms of Judaism,¹⁷ and whose assistance Antiochus was quite ready to accept in the execution of his momentous and far-reaching policies.¹⁸ It was necessary, then, that there be created not only a feeling of hatred for the tyrant himself, by magnifying out of all proportion to his idea the importance of the suppression of the Hebrew religion,¹⁹ but also a sense of disgust at all things Greek.²⁰ Wherefore, far from being accidental, it is very likely that the introduction of Greek words in 3 5. 7. 10. 15 is indeed intentional.²¹

¹⁷ 12 10: "The wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand." Cf. 1 Macc. 1 11 ff.: "In those days there came forth out of Israel transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles that are round about us, for since we were parted from them, many evils have befallen us. And the saying was good in their eyes . . . and they . . . forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil."

¹⁸ Dan. 11 32: "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries." 9 27: "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week." Cf. 1 Macc. 1 13 2 18, 2 Macc. 7 24.

¹⁹ Dan. 11 31: "And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate." Cf. 8 12 9 27 12 11, 1 Macc. 1 54, 2 Macc. 6 2. Hoffman, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, p. 80, essays to compare Antiochus and Julian. In so far as the ideas of both were out of harmony with the spirit of the times, there is an apparent similarity between the persecutions of Antiochus and of Julian, far less, however, than the dissimilarity, owing to the fact that whereas Julian sought the extinction of Christianity as an end, Antiochus sought the extinction of Judaism but as a means to an end. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 8: *Rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adniscus, quo minus tæterrimam gentem in melius mutaret . . . prohibitus est.*

²⁰ Especially Greek manners and customs, of social and semi-religious as well as of religious nature; cf. 2 Macc. 4 9-16, the introduction of Greek dress and athletics by the renegade high priest Jason. The number of apostates is doubtless exaggerated; now there were, however, to render the orthodox fearful for their cause.

²¹ If it be argued that *psanterin* and *sumpōnyāh* are but used in the absence of Semitic words for *psaltery* and *bagpipe*, then why *kitharos*, a

An ideal in harmony with the spirit of the times, and reinforced by public opinion is, as the apocalypticist foresaw, quite invincible.²² Henceforth the contest was not to be one of man against man, nor indeed of race against race, and ideal against ideal; it was to be a contest of idea against idea—the Hebrew idea of eternal world empire²³ against the Antiochian idea, with the odds of battle in the long run against Antiochus. He had neither rightly judged the spirit of the times, nor estimated the intensity of the Hebrew temperament, and from the first he encountered determined, if not indeed active resistance to the progress of his idea from the loyal and orthodox Jews.²⁴ No doubt it was a new experience to him to meet with loyalty to an ideal beyond the power of persecution or largess to destroy. He was early made to realize, however, that this loyalty was the distinctive feature of the Jewish character, represented by the faithful Eleazer and the incorruptible Mattathias,²⁵ by the victims of the Sabbath-day massacre, not by the selfish renegades who had allied themselves with his cause, and were quite as ready to desert him; that behind it was a definite purpose, as apparent in the sporadic tendency to resist by more active means.²⁶ The time was, in fact, ripe for revolt.²⁷

mere synonym for *kinnōr*? *Sumpōnyāh*, at least, name and thing, is reminiscent of Antiochus; cf. Polybius, xxvi. 1.

²² Dan. 2³⁵ 7 27.

²³ 7 18: "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom, for ever, even for ever and ever"; cf. 7 14. 22. 27.

²⁴ 1 Macc. 1 62-63: "And many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves, not to eat unclean things. And they chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant, and they died." This was the first actual persecution of the Jews, following the royal edict of December, 168 B.C.; the loot of the Temple in 170 B.C. was but an act of war, consequent upon the defection of Jason.

²⁵ 1 Macc. 2 18: "Thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy sons shall be honored with silver and gold and many gifts. And Mattathias answered and said, . . . (vs. 21) Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words."

²⁶ Dan. 11 34: "Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help." Cf. 1 Macc. 2 24 f.: "And Mattathias . . . showed forth his wrath according to judgment, and ran and slew him upon the altar. And the

Ere a year had passed since the publication of the royal decree in 168 B.C., placing the Jewish religion under the ban, Antiochus, had he realized the full meaning of the opposition to his idea, might have observed that there needed but a spark to set off the magazine. His idea, however, was now more to him than an idea; it was an obsession; nor cared he aught (who was indeed Antiochus the Mad) if thereby the imperial treasury were depleted and the nation plunged into civil war.

The next important step in the direction of establishing Greek manners and culture in his dominions was taken near the close of the year 167 B.C.²⁸ At that time Antiochus instituted a great festival at Daphne, the pleasure suburb of Antioch, where he had built a magnificent and costly temple to Apollo.²⁹ This festival, lasting for a full month, surpassed in splendor and brilliancy even the memorable festival inaugurated a few months earlier at Amphipolis by Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the Roman proconsul of Macedonia.³⁰ Not mere prodigality, as the historian would have us believe, was his object; it was rather the establishment at any cost of a formal state religion, centring about the worship of

king's officer who compelled them to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and pulled down the altar . . . , (vs. 41) And they took counsel on that day, saying, Whosoever shall come against us to battle on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him."

²⁷ 1 Macc. 2 44 ff. : "And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger and lawless men in their wrath. . . . And Mattathias and his friends went round about and pulled down the altars . . . and they pursued after the sons of pride and the work prospered in their hand."

²⁸ Granius Licinianus, xxviii. *Asturcone pompam ducebat*. The festival at Amphipolis was celebrated at some time in the summer of the year 167 B.C.; that at Daphne must have been at least several months later, and previous, as Polybius (xxx. 27) states, to the coming of the Roman embassy under Tiberius, which reached Antioch before the end of the same year.

²⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 13. i : *Eodem tempore diem xi Kal. Nov. amplissimum Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus, rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiperans magnitudinem, subita vi flammaram exustum est.* (A.D. 362.)

³⁰ Polybius, xxx. 25 : ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμίλιου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλόμενος τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ὑπερβαῖν τὸν Παῦλον . . .

Zeus, — part of his idea, — towards which the impression of barbaric splendor and magnificence,³¹ that the festival must leave in the mind of the populace, Jew as well as Gentile, would, as he thought, give an impulse well-nigh irresistible. Unreligious to a degree himself, there was, as far as he was concerned, no immoral principle involved in robbing Peter to pay Paul, by partially defraying the cost with loot from the Temple,³² though the unwisdom of his course seems not to have occurred to him. The apocalypticist historian, however, was possessed of a greater degree of discernment. It is not surprising that in his allegories of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar he should have, by divers covert allusions to events in that memorable month of pagan festivities, gibbeted Antiochus for all time.³³

The following year saw the beginning of the end of Antiochus. His star had set; his idea was already discredited. Foiled in his designs of foreign conquest by the Romans,³⁴ he was now confronted with a revolution at home. The spark had set off the magazine. Exasperated beyond endurance, the Jews had found in Judas Maccabæus³⁵ a coura-

³¹ Polybius, xxx. 25: τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλήθος οὕτως ἄν τις ὑπονοήσειεν ὅσον ἦν. Elsewhere he states the approximate number of participants, amounting to nearly *sixty thousand*.

³² Athenæus, *Deipn.*, p. 195 f.: Περὶ οὗ φησι Πολύβιος . . . ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίστατο, . . . τὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Φίλων συμβαλλομένων, ἱεροσολῆκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἱερῶν.

³³ In Dan. 3 1 ff., the reference to the image of gold is reminiscent of an incident in the festival: πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων προσέτι δ' ἡρώων, εἰδῶλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα τὰ δ' ἡμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαχύρσοις (Polybius, xxx. 25). Likewise in chap. v, it is not unlikely that the feast of Belshazzar was pictured, lest the Jews forget the great banquet of Antiochus, an orgy of barbaric splendor and crass indecency, from which even the king's guests were constrained to retire in disgust. (Polybius, xxx. 26.)

³⁴ Cf. Livy, xlv. 10, the expulsion of Antiochus from Egypt by Popilius Lænas in 168 B.C.

³⁵ 1 Macc. 2 70: "And he (Mattathias) died, in the hundred and forty and sixth year" (B.C. 167); 3 1: "And his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, rose up in his stead." The story of the war of liberation, begun by Judas Maccabæus in 166 B.C., forms a brief, but one of the most splendid chapters in all history; the victory thereby won for the ideal of "right" paved the way for Christianity.

geous and high-minded leader. The day of passive resistance ended, armed resistance was now become their purpose, in defense of their ideal and for the advancement of their idea. At this time, however, the financial resources of the empire were well-nigh exhausted by the vast expense of the festival.³⁶ In consternation the king at last saw his mistake and realized his danger; for never lay crowned head more uneasy than the head of him who had found himself in the possession of a powerful army and a depleted treasury.³⁷ "And he was exceedingly perplexed in his mind, and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money."³⁸ Leaving behind, as he thought, a sufficient force to hold the Jews in check, he set off, in the year 166 B.C.,³⁹ on what was little better than a two years' freebooting expedition, from which he never returned. Impenetrable obscurity shrouds the events in his career during these two years.⁴⁰

³⁶ 1 Macc. 3:29: "And he saw that the money failed from his treasures . . ."; cf. also Polybius, xxxi. 9.

³⁷ 3:27 ff.

³⁸ 3:31.

³⁹ 3:37: "And the king . . . removed from Antioch, from his royal city, the hundred and forty and seventh year (B.C. 166), and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries."

⁴⁰ Hitherto, it has been supposed that certain of the last acts of Antiochus are to be found in the visions of Daniel, — 7:25-28 (cf. 12:7), 8:12-14 (cf. 12:11-12), 9:27, and particularly 11:40 ff., in which it is stated: "And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, — and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. But tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him, — therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace (Heb. *appēden*, from Pers. *apadāna*) between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him."

Porphry alone excepted, no ancient historian mentions an expedition of Antiochus into Egypt in 166-165 B.C.; on the contrary, that Persia was the

scene of his activities during these two years, is the unanimous testimony of Polybius, Appian, and both books of the Maccabees, to which should be added the statement of Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 8: *Rex Antiochus . . . quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est.* Aside from the absence of positive evidence thereto, one must take into account the improbability that Antiochus, his empire involved in civil war, and his treasury empty, would have at this time ventured to attack Egypt, a virtual declaration of war with Rome. Moreover, Porphyry was writing for a purpose, — to confound the Christians, and if not ignorant himself of the testimony of Polybius, etc., unwisely counted upon the ignorance of his opponents concerning pagan history, and chose to assume, without proof, that the book of Daniel was written later than 165 B.C., accepting as history the incidents in the prediction of 11 40-45, which never happened, to the absurd extent of misinterpreting *appéden* as the name of a place, to wit, Apedno. Therein he overreached himself, and is justly dismissed by St. Jerome as a history faker: *in hoc loco, Porphyrius tale nescio quid de Antiocho somniat* (Jer., Dan. 11 44-45, Migne 35, col. 575).

It is to be noted also that whereas the several predictions concerning the duration of the Antiochian persecution appear inconsistent, this inconsistency is only apparent, due to the fact that the period is expressed in the terms of the mystic cycle of π years. This cycle may be numerically expressed by the mystical formula — unity, plus duality, plus unity divided by duality. (Cf. Dan. 12 7, "a time, times and a half.") In the author's mind it is coincident with the length of time in which the services in the Temple are to be suspended, — 7 25: "He shall . . . think to change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." 12 7: "It shall be for a time, times and a half, and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." Cf. also 8 14 9 27 12 11-12.

"The numbers . . . in various prophecies are only computations of the number of the cycle on the basis of different principles" (Paul Carus, "The Number π in Christian Prophecy," *Monist*, xvi. p. 418). Were the book written as late as the death of Antiochus, in 164 B.C., or even as late as the restoration in 165 B.C., all the admonitions contained therein would be purposeless. Accordingly the *terminus ad quem* is as indeterminate as the length of the period. According to the author's point of view, it lay in the future, events of which he ventured to predict in 11 40 π , assuming for himself as a *terminus ad quem* the coincidence of three momentous incidents; to wit, the death of Antiochus, the restoration of the Temple, and the commencement of the eternal world-empire, under the domination of Israel. Between antecedent prediction and subsequent history are aye discrepancies! As it happened, the restoration took place 25 Chislew (Dec.), 165 B.C., and Antiochus died in 164 B.C., — events distant respectively three years, and three years plus, from the date of profanation. Wherefore, since the author gave not one, but several numerical approximations to the mysterious square of the circle, as applied to the determination of a mystic cycle, in his uncertainty, whether the period were one of lunar or of solar years, whether or not account were to be taken of intercalary days, etc., in effect

Antiochus died in the year 164 B.C.⁴¹ after a turbulent reign of eleven years. Myth-making historians early set their wits to work on the manner and cause of his death.⁴²

leaving the determination of his meaning to the ingenuity of commentators, it is not surprising that all have so consistently lost sight of his viewpoint and the meaning of the cycle itself, as reckoned in his prophecies.

An analytical table of important events in the years 167-164 will show most clearly that the book of Daniel contains no reference to incidents of later date than B.C. 167.

167 B.C.	Revolt of Mattathias	Dan. 11 34	1 Macc. 2 24 f.
	The festival at Daphne	Dan. 3 5	
	Embassy of Tiberius		Polyb. xxx. 27
166	Judas defeats Apollonius		1 Macc. 3 10
	Antiochus in Persia		auct. omn.
165	Judas defeats Lysias		1 Macc. 4
	The Restoration		1 Macc. 4 52
164	Death of Antiochus		1 Macc. 6 16

From the above, it is evident that the book of Daniel must have been written at some time in the latter part of the year 167 B.C., most probably during the festival, which in the author's mind appeared to be the climax of the Antiochian persecution, and before the coming of the embassy under Tiberius. It is not possible to suppose that in 11 34, "when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help," there is a reference to so important an event in the early part of the Maccabæan uprising as the defeat and death of Apollonius,—the killing of the king's officer by Mattathias in 167 is more fittingly described as "a little help." From the author's viewpoint the book is a *Tendenzschrift*, including not only a psychological theory of history, but also what may be called a theory of the science of prophecy. Into his predictions of the end entered two factors—his faith in the mystic period as the constant of time, and his firm belief that Antiochus who was to him the embodiment of the arrogantly irreligious, was to perish by the hand of the Lord. (Cf. 2 35 8 25 11 45.)

⁴¹ 1 Macc. 6 16: "And king Antiochus died there, in the hundred and forty and ninth year" (B.C. 164).

⁴² 1 Macc. 6 12-13: "I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and . . . I perceive that on this account, these evils are come upon me, and behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land." Cf. also 2 Macc. 9 5: "But the All-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, smote him with a fatal and invisible stroke." Herein lies an attempt to make fact agree with the prophecy in Dan. 11 45: "Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." Josephus (*Antt.* xii, 9 1), though admitting the credibility of Polybius, adds: πολὺ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα. The climax of myth-making is reached in 2 Macc. 9 9: "Out of the body of the impious man, worms swarmed, and while he was still living, in anguish and pains, his flesh fell off, and by reason of the stench, all the army turned with loathing from his corruption."

Fortunately there remain the sober and impartial statements of Polybius⁴³ and Appian,⁴⁴ whereby it is possible, even at this late day, to get at the facts, to separate truth from fiction in the more highly colored narratives of the books of Maccabees, provided one allows for the influence of superstition, and retains an understanding of the motive for myth making; namely, an obvious desire to mete out poetic justice even at the expense of truth.

It appears that while on his campaign in Persia he found the country much disaffected. Needing funds as he did, the richness of the temple hoards was too great a temptation for his unreligious and ambitious soul. At Elymais was a temple of the Babylonian-Persian goddess Nannaea-Anahid,⁴⁵ in which was much treasure and many trophies dedicated to the goddess by Alexander the Great.⁴⁶ An attempted raid was repulsed by the natives,⁴⁷ and Antiochus was forced to retreat to Tabæ,

⁴³ Polybius xxxi. 9: 'Αντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς βουλόμενος εὐπορήσαι χρημάτων προέθετο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλυμαίδα, παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, καὶ διαψενσθεὶς τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τῇ παρανομίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς οἰκούντας περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀναχωρῶν ἐν Τάβαις τῆς Περσίδος ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, δαιμονήσας, ὡς ξηοὶ φασί, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς ἐπισημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν παρανομίαν.

⁴⁴ Appian, *Syriaca*, 66: ὁ μὲν δὲ καταπλαγεὶς ἀνέξενε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε. The date (B.C. 168, at the time of the embassy of Popilius) is wrong; it should be 164.

⁴⁵ Nanæa of 2 Macc. 1 13 ff., worshiped in Persia, Armenia, Syria, etc., variously identified by Greek writers with Artemis and Aphrodite (cf. Polybius, *l.c.*, Appian, *l.c.*, Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, p. 19). Also cf. Granius Licinianus, 28: "Et se simulabat Hierapoli Dianam ducere uxorem, et ceteris epulantibus . . . abstulit in dotem excepto . . . quem unum omnium deae donorum reliquit." The text is very corrupt, yet serves to establish the authenticity of 2 Macc. 1 14 ff.

⁴⁶ 1 Macc. 6 1: "And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries, and he heard say that in Elymais in Persia there was a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold, and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly, and that therein were golden shields and breastplates and arms, which Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Greeks, left behind there."

⁴⁷ Polybius, xxxi. 9; cf. 1 Macc. 6 3: "And he came and sought to take the city and to pillage it, and he was not able, because the thing was known to them of the city, and they rose up against him to battle"; also 2 Macc. 9 1 ff. In 2 Macc. 1 16, Antiochus is said to have been slain by the priest of Nanæa, — an inaccuracy due to confusion of Antiochus IV with his father,

where he was met with the news⁴⁸ of the crushing defeats inflicted upon the Syrian forces by Judas, who had subsequently rebuilt the Temple and restored the daily sacrifice.⁴⁹ Supernatural manifestations of divine anger, according to Polybius,⁵⁰ presently drove him insane. This statement may be qualified,—Antiochus was already insane. A strange combination of genius and degenerate ;⁵¹ reckless, possessed of a degree of self-confidence amounting to megalomania ;⁵² ambitious, yet short-sighted, deficient in self-control and mental balance, without the power to react in the presence of adversity. His emotions in his last days cannot have been repentance for his irreligious life,—that were inconsistent with his unreligious temperament,—rather he saw his idea, to which he had given his life, discredited, his kingdom divided, his enemies victorious, his treasury empty, with prospect of an army in mutiny and the loss of his throne. In place of arrogant self-confidence was a morbid sense of his own helplessness,⁵³ amounting to delusions of

Antiochus III, who according to a tradition first appearing in Diodorus, xxix. 15, was killed in a raid on the temple of Bel at Elymais. This tradition, in turn, is probably but a reflection into the past of the sacrilege of Antiochus IV. In Dan. 11 19, namely, it is said of Antiochus III: "He shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land, but he shall stumble and fall and not be found"; cf. Jerome, Migne, 35, col. 564: "Victus ergo Antiochus . . . ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes, cumque adversus Elimaeos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu."

⁴⁸ 1 Macc. 6 5.

⁴⁹ 1 Macc. 6 7; cf. 4 36-61.

⁵⁰ Antiochus may have seen Halley's comet. It was observed B.C. 240, 87, and 11. Assuming a mean period of 76.5 years, there should have been an apparition about B.C. 164. Comets, as messengers of divine wrath, were much dreaded in ancient times. The great comet of B.C. 43, with its attendant meteoric shower, was numbered among the signs of heaven's anger at the murder of Julius Cæsar.

⁵¹ Polybius, *ap.* Diodorus, xxxi. 16. 2: . . . ἀπιστεῖν εἰ περὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ὑπάρξαι δυνατόν ἐστιν.

⁵² 2 Macc. 9 8: "And he that but now supposed himself to have the waves of the sea at his bidding, so vainglorious was he beyond the condition of a man, and that thought to weigh the heights of the mountains in a balance" . . . , the reference being to his assumption of divine honors, with the title *θεὸς ἐπιφανής*.

⁵³ 1 Macc. 6 8: "And he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for. And he was there

persecution, leading to excessive mental and nervous depression, exhaustion, and death.⁵⁴

It cannot be said that Antiochus was a good king. His ambition was that of a Napoleon or an Alexander, in whose eyes humanity lived but to work out his idea, the idea that perished with him. His place in history is as a precursor of Christianity,—in him the ideal of “rights” made a last stand. History was henceforth to record the steady, if gradual and slow progress of the ideal of “right,”—the first victory of which was the Maccabæan war of liberation,—and the worldwide spread of the Hebrew idea of world empire, interpreted in a spiritual sense. Indeed, the apocalypticist builded better than he knew. To him who wrote with the abiding faith in the divine destiny of man, and knew that least among misdirected human agencies the persecution of Antiochus was powerless to turn back the tide of human progress, was given the vision, “Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days. . . .”⁵⁵

many days, . . . and he made account that he should die” ; cf. 2 Macc. 9 11 : “Hereupon, therefore, he began in great part to cease from his arrogance, being broken in spirit.”

⁵⁴ Appian, *l.c.*, *φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε* ; cf. Granius Licinianus, 28 : *terrore perit nocturno*. The horrible story in 2 Macc. 9 9 ff. is a fanciful exaggeration of the pitiable delusions of a neurasthenic. Nor is this all of myth-making, though in 2 Macc. 9 28-29 it is written : “So the murderer and blasphemer . . . ended his life, . . . and Philip, his foster brother, conveyed the body home.” There was not wanting a tradition that Antiochus was denied the rites of burial ; cf. Granius Licinianus, 28 : *corpus eius, cum Antiochiam portaretur, exterritis subito iumentis, in fluvium abreptum, non comparuit*.

⁵⁵ Dan. 7 13.